1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
311 Hsining and the Ta-t'ung run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

[P. 18-b]

134 1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9
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133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure
[132] is used. The western part of the region is colder than the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The
• 31 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[P. 18 c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [87] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[87] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

[P. 58a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

311 175 241 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 241 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* 36: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

[P. 586]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

[311] It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times, but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

•311 175 An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. [P. 110-b]

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In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

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Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76-79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

[P. 111a]

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

/The Kazakhs/

S
563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of
M the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing
462 and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their
533 hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their
535 dance is simple.
[191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their ex-
S pert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horse-
563 back. There are three which may be played by all ages. One,
K similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep."
526 Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N
*563 F. The Mongours

M 1. The people
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311 The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were for-
N merly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two
*563 major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow
M River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of
614 people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common
622 chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace
[175] their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers.
*563 One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols;
M another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-
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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 • 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-